

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1249718-1

Total Deleted Page(s) = 2

Page 40 ~ Duplicate;

Page 41 ~ Duplicate;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

X Deleted Page(s) X

X No Duplication Fee X

X For this Page X

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b6  
b7C

JAC ORIGINATED AT NEW YORK

REPORT DATE AT	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE	REPORT MADE BY	
YORK	12/31/56	5/1, 2, 4, 18, 21, 25; 6/1, 4,	JAMES E. HANLON	bjc
TITLE	ICED:	13, 14, 18-22, 25-27; 7/3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23-25, 30; 8/9, 10, 23, 24; 9/6, 10, 17, 18, 19, 20; 24-26; 10/2, 11, 12, 15-18, 22, 29; 11/1, 2, 5-8, 13-16, 19, 23, 26-30; 12/3-7, 10-14/56	CHARACTER OF CASE	
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was Earl Browder, Joseph Dixon, Joseph Ward, Albert Underwood, Earl Rutelli, Earl Wingate, Carl W. Ringroce, Jr. Browder, Nicholas Dozenberg George Morris, Albert Hen Richards, Mr. Porter				

Summary Report:

Synopsis:

Subject born 5/20/91, Wichita, Kansas, resides 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY. Source reports subject apparently has no outside employment. Subject reportedly joined Socialist Party age 15; Secretary PFTUS, China 1927, General Secretary, CPUSA, 1930-1944; President CPA 1945; expelled from CPUSA 1946; represented Soviet publishing houses in US, 1946-1949; application for reinstatement in CP rejected 1948; subject reportedly had access to information gathered by known Soviet espionage agents early 1940's. Source stated in 1954 subject had expressed himself in an Anti-Communist manner on a number of occasions, particularly after persecution of the Jewish doctors in Russia. Source advised July 1956 BROWDER could get back into the Party today if he were so inclined. Source advised October 1956 no intention of readmitting BROWDER to Party at this time. Subject indicted by FGJ, 9/26/52, SDNY, for violation Title 18, Section 1015 (a), USC, based on a false statement made under oath on 10/14/49. Case pending USDC, SDNY.

b6  
b7C

APPROVED AND FORWARDED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	INDEXED - 74
1-3710-1117	CIA	7563	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT			
6 - Bureau (40-3798)(RM) 1 - IIS, NYC (RM) 1 - USA, SDNY (RM) 3 - New York (100-25603)	JAN 22 1957		RECORDED - 39 INDEXED - 39

\* This report is loaned to you by the FBI, and its contents are not to be distributed outside the agency to which it is loaned.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. BACKGROUND	
A. Residence.....	2
B. Employment.....	2
C. Birth.....	2
D. Marital Status.....	3
E. Education.....	4
II. ACTIVITY IN FURTHERANCE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT	
A. Background.....	4
B. 1920-1930.....	8
C. China Period.....	9
D. 1930-1940.....	14
E. 1940 to Expulsion.....	20
F. Knowledge of Secret Apparatus of CP - Espionage.....	21
III. BROWDER'S EXPULSION FROM CP.....	24
IV. POST EXPULSION TO PRESENT.....	25
V. PAMPHLETS WRITTEN BY EARL BROWDER.....	36
VI. IDENTIFICATION RECORD.....	39
VII. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.....	41
VIII. APPENDIX.....	41

NY 100-25693

DETAILS:

The title of this case is being changed  
to include the alias Mr. PORTER.

SAMUEL ZAKMAN, 127-20 161st Street, Jamaica,  
Long Island, New York, advised SAS JOHN WARD and CHARLES  
N. NOONE on September 22, 1947, that he had served with  
the Loyalist forces in 1937 and 1938 in Spain. ZAKMAN  
stated while stationed at Tarazona he was advised by  
the Camp Commander that a visitor named Mr. PORTER was  
coming and that ZAKMAN would recognize him. He charged  
ZAKMAN with the responsibility of PORTER's safety. When  
PORTER arrived he recognized him as EARL BROWDER, head of  
the Communist Party in the United States.

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence

T-1, who has furnished reliable information  
in the past, advised on October 16, 1956, that EARL BROWDER  
resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, Apartment 3F.

B. Employment

Informant advised subject apparently has  
no outside employment. This source stated that he got the  
impression that BROWDER was writing a book or some sort of  
an article in his home.

C. Birth

The publication "Current Biography", 1944  
edition, Page 69, sets forth information to the effect  
that EARL RUSSELL BROWDER was born in Wichita, Kansas,  
May 20, 1891. His parents were listed as WILLIAM BROWDER  
and MARTHA HANKINS BROWDER.

NY 100-25693

According to a pamphlet entitled "A Man From Kansas" by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, subject was born May 20, 1891, in Sedgwick, Kansas.

D. Marital Status

An article dated January 8, 1955, appearing in the January 9, 1955 edition of the "New York Times" entitled "Mrs. Earl Browder Dead At 58, Wife Of Ex-Head of U.S. Reds" reads in part as follows:

"Mrs. Raissa Irene Berkman Browder, wife of Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party in the United States, died here today in her home, 7 Highland Place (Yonkers, New York) after a long illness. She was 58 years old on New Years Day."

The records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 70 Columbus Avenue, New York City, disclosed that a Dissolution of Marriage Certificate Number 2182 of the Peoples Commissariat of the Interior between EARL BRODER and GLADIS BRODER terminated this marriage on April 25, 1926. Their names after dissolution of the marriage was shown as BRODER and GROVE.

There was also furnished a Marriage Certificate showing that a marriage took place on September 15, 1926, at Moscow, USSR between IRL BRODER and RAISSA BERKMAN.

Immigration and Naturalization Service records further reflected a birth certificate number 3070 issued at Moscow, USSR, showed the birth of [redacted]

b6  
b7c

NY 100-25693

On September 5, 1939, EARL RUSSELL BROWDER appeared before a Special Hearing of the House of Representatives on Un-American Activities, Dies Committee, Washington, D.C. At this hearing BROWDER stated that he had only one former wife who was known by the name of GLADYS BROWDER and that she was an invalid.

E. Education

The publication "Current Biography" 1944 edition, Page 69, sets forth information that EARL BROWDER's formal education ended in the third grade but that he continued studying in his spare time.

The publication "Who's Who In The East, 1942-1943" sets out information to the effect that EARL BROWDER received a Bachelor of Law Degree (LLB) from the Lincoln-Jefferson University, correspondence course, 1914.

II. ACTIVITY IN FURTHERANCE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

A. Background

The publication "New Masses", April 30, 1935, Page 13, contained an article entitled "Earl Browder: A Profile" By Joseph North. This article reads in part as follows:

"...Browder's father was a school teacher for twenty-four years in South Eastern Kansas and the region's "infidel." He had run across some Unitarian sermons and became a disbeliever in any formal religion. The father diligently taught his children the three R's and beyond. The mother contributed a militant anti-clericalism based on TOM PAINE's 'age of reason.' Earl Browder left public school at the age of nine after two years in the grades.

NY 100-25693

"His father and mother proved a demanding faculty afterwards...In 1901 his father took his sons to a Socialist meeting. From that time on Earl's schooling took a different turn.

"At nine, errand boy in a local department store; at fourteen a Western Union messenger boy; at fifteen a member of the Socialist Party....'I had considered myself a Socialist when I was ten years old.' He became an active member of the Party at 15. He continued his work as he gave increasingly more time to the workingclass movement; at seventeen, in a wholesale drughouse in Wichita he learned bookkeeping; at twenty he had become the office manager. The duties of this position, however, quickly disclosed their incompatibility with the temperament of a hot young Socialist. He packed his satchel and went to Kansas City in 1912 and remained there busy at a job and revolution until the war. There in 1912 he left the Socialist Party....He became a member of the Syndicalist group in the American Federation of Labor led by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and published the monthly Syndicalist magazine "The Toiler" until 1915. He became a leader in the Kansas City labor movement, active in strikes and organizational work. Part of his time was taken with teaching a class of foreign born packing house workers English - and the class struggle. For two years until the war he worked in the farmers cooperative movement near Kansas City - relics of the old Grange movement - as office executive and later as manager. He was also a member of the Council of the Cooperative League of America at the same time he led the Kansas City trade union group.

"The world war found the American native revolutionaries busy at work, foreseeing that the conflict would not halt at the shores of the Atlantic. In 1917 Browder helped form what was called the League for Democratic Control. This small group of conscious revolutionaries engaged themselves in organizing a public campaign against America's entrance into the war - and afterwards against conscription.

NY 100-25693

"Before the draft became law, he was arrested. He was then sentenced to a year in prison on the technical grounds of refusing to register; later to two years in Leavenworth on the charge of 'conspiracy to defeat the draft law.' Prison has ever been a proving ground for revolutionaries; a place for preparation. There in the tiny cell in the Platte County Jail, Missouri, he pored over volumes as a student might in the halls of a University. Marx's capital must be mastered - all three volumes and there were Engels' works to study....

"The swift months between October 1918 when Browder walked out of the Platte County Jail to July 1919, when he returned to prison at Leavenworth to serve a two year sentence, were taken with incessant revolutionary activity. Re-entering the Socialist Party he formed a weekly paper, "The Workers World", a left-wing Socialist journal. He passed through Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, arguing, explaining, the knowledge gained in prison coming in handy innumerable times, and finally succeeded in bringing the majority of the Socialist Party organizations of these states into the left-wing which soon became the Communist Party..

"The gates of Leavenworth clanged shut behind him on July 13, 1919. Two years in Leavenworth: prisoner 14314.....He was graduated in November 1920. Within twenty-four hours he was sitting at a conference table in a working class neighborhood in Kansas City talking over problems of the Revolutionary Party. The Communist Party had been born while he was in Leavenworth. The attitude toward the war had split the Socialist Party: the left-wingers never acquiesced in the war, characterizing it as imperialist in nature, capitalism's device to enrich the overlords and to divide the world's markets. These intransigent revolutionaries formed the Communist Party. Earl Browder, the revolutionary, was now a Communist....

NY 100-25693

"The Party assigned him to organize a delegation of trade unionists to the first congress of the Red International of Labor Unions in 1921. He went with the delegation, representing the militant group of Kansas coal miners and several local unions in various parts of the United States. While in Moscow he attended the Third Congress of the Communist International. He was elected to the international executive of the Red International of Labor Unions. Upon his return he became an assistant editor of the "Labor Herald" the organ of the Trade Union Educational League of which William Z. Foster was founder and secretary. He was elected to the executive committee of the Workers Party of America (the name adopted by the Communist Party to help emerge from the illegality that followed the notorious Palmer "Red raids" of 1920) at its first convention in December 1921. From 1921 to 1926 he was assistant to William Z. Foster in the great movement for amalgamation and a Labor Party led by the Trade Union Educational League within the American Federation of Labor. He was sent by his fellow workers to Moscow to work for a year in the Red International of Labor Unions. There he attended the Sixth and Seventh plenary sessions of the Communist International as one of the representatives of the American Party.....

"He went to China as a member of the International Workers Delegation in 1927. The next two and a half years were taken with coördinating the trade union organization of the Pacific countries....

"Browder worked in China from 1927 until 1929 as a secretary of the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat which organized a Far East trade union center connecting seven countries....

"In 1928 Browder attended the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International at Moscow....

NY 100-25693

"From China, Browder returned to the United States early in 1929 and participated in the national convention of the Communist Party here. One more journey to Asia where he delivered the report to the Second Pan Pacific Trade Union Congress held in Vladivostok in the month of August 1929. He returned to the United States just before the October crash in 1929. At the Seventh Convention of the Communist Party, USA in 1930, he was chosen General Secretary of the Communist Party and has functioned at that post ever since, (1935).

B. 1920-1930

The biography of the subject, EARL BROWDER as taken from "American Labor National Who's Who, 1925" reads in part as follows:

"Editor of the "Workers Monthly", his combination of the "Labor Herald", "The Liberator", and "Soviet Russia Pictorial;" member Central Executive Committee, Workers Party, since 1921; National Committee, Trade Union Educational League, since 1921; President Office Workers Union, Kansas City, Missouri, 1913-1917; member Office Employees Union 12755, January 27, 1955, since 1921; Associate Editor of "The Toiler", Syndicalist magazine 1914; delegate to Congress of Red International of Labor Unions, Moscow, 1921; member Control Commission, Communist International since 1924."

The publication "Who's Who In The East, 1942-1943" sets forth information that EARL BROWDER, was a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, since 1921; Director, Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, Hankow, and Shanghai, 1927-1929; General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, 1930.

NY 100-25693

C. China Period

T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following background information regarding the subject's Communist activities and affiliations in China during the latter 1920's. This source has given information to the effect that in 1927 a conference was held in Hankow under the auspices of the Third International. It was decided at that conference that Communist work in that part of the world would be conducted by the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS) with EARL BROWDER as Secretary. Subject was reported to have become active in this work from a date soon after the conference above referred to until 1928 and in the performance of that work the subject spent most of his time in Shanghai.

It was also reported that the term T.O.S. (Tikhi-Okeanski-Sekretariat, first came to attention in 1929 when EARL BROWDER was its Secretary. It was established thereby that the term T.O.S. was used interchangeably with PPTUS of which EARL BROWDER was General Secretary. Information was also given that EARL BROWDER was prominent in the PPTUS conference held in May 1927 when he appeared as an American representative of the International Workers Delegation and outlined the aims and history of the PPTUS and later rendered a joint report to the conference on American Labor matters.

In 1928 the subject is reported to have occupied the position of Secretary to the PPTUS and to have been in Manila under the name of GEORGE MORRIS conferring with native radicals. It is also reported that on September 30, 1928, an American lady calling herself Mrs. MORRIS arrived at 1552 Avenue Joffer (ISS Apartments) from an unknown address and engaged rooms and flat number 205. About a week later her husband, GEORGE MORRIS, arrived and stayed there until December 1, 1928, when he left for Dairen on the "Dairen Maru".

NY 100-25693

In his application for a visa which was made at the local Japanese Consulate, he gave the following particulars:

"George Morris, American, born in Lourence, Kansas, USA, May 20, 1891, profession - Journalist, Passport Number 47085, issued in Washington on November 19, 1927."

Information was reported to the effect that two envelopes obtained from this individual's rooms at 1552 Avenue Joffre bear the following address: "George Morris, Post Office Box 541, Shanghai."

Information was also given that inquiries made at that time proved that Post Office Box 541 was rented by GEORGE MORRIS, 'flat' G-2, number 4 Ezra Road. The Ezra Road flat was reported to have been taken over on August 1, 1928, from MORRIS by another individual who retained the original servants. These servants subsequently identified the photograph of BROWDER as being identical with their late master, GEORGE MORRIS.

Meetings of the PPTUS in Shanghai at which the subject is supposed to have functioned as Secretary, were believed to have been held between February 3 and 6, 1928. Information was also given that BROWDER proceeded to Moscow to obtain funds from the Third International to carry out the program decided upon in the resolution passed during the last series of meetings.

Information was also given that about this time the headquarters in China of the PPTUS were believed to have been moved to Peking in order to have greater freedom of action and BROWDER was reported to have been in Tientsin.

NY 100-25693

Information was also reported to the effect that BROWDER, as Chairman of the Pan Pacific Congress of Trade Unions presided at its opening at the Seamen's Club, Vladivostok on August 17, 1929. The subject was reported to have been active in Shanghai from about December 3, 1927, to the end of June 1928, during which time Post Office Box number 1193 was rented by the PPTUS.

Information was given to the effect that the local Japanese authority, MANABU SANO, head of the Central Executive Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, who was arrested in Shanghai in June 1929 and sentenced to life in prison on October 29, 1932 in Tokyo was, while in Shanghai, in receipt of \$50 per month from EARL BROWDER, alias George Morris, who was then holding the position of Secretary of the PPTUS and with whom the Japanese Communists were connected through the medium of SANO.

BENJAMIN GITLOW, former General Secretary of the Communist Party, appeared before a Special Hearing of the House of Representatives on Un-American Activities, Dies Committee, Washington, D.C. on September 7, 1939. GITLOW testified that the OGPU is an organization of the secret police or espionage agents of the Soviet Government and is tied up with the Military Intelligence Division of the Soviet Government active throughout the world. GITLOW stated that BROWDER was connected with important OGPU activities.

BROWDER was assigned two important jobs by the Communist International and by the Red International Trade Unions. One was the establishment of a trans-Pacific trade union secretariat at Hankow, China, in the year 1927. According to GITLOW, BROWDER was one of the key men in the secretariat and was a co-editor of the journals which the secretariat got out.

NY 100-25693

At the same time EARL BROWDER was connected with a much more important bureau which was established as a business concern in Shanghai, China where the Communists could not operate openly.

In Hankow at that time they could operate openly because Hankow was not connected with CHIANG-KAI-SHEK but in Shanghai they had to operate under extreme difficulties and had to be very secretive concerning their activities. BROWDER was connected with that Bureau.

Through that Bureau, the most important one over there, the activities in that part of China controlled by General CHIANG-KAI-SHEK were carried on. Due to certain stupidities on the part of EARL BROWDER the Bureau had to be broken up very quickly and all of the OGPU agents and Comintern representatives operating through BROWDER had to "beat it as quickly as possible" across the Trans-Siberian Railroad, going to Moscow.

The records of T-3, another Government investigative agency, reflects the following information regarding EARL BROWDER and the Institute of Pacific Relations.

An informant of T-3 advised that agency, that in the early months of 1932 informant was in San Francisco, California after returning from a trip to South America made in the capacity of a representative of the Comintern. During a meeting in San Francisco with HARRISON GEORGE and EARL BROWDER, HARRISON GEORGE informed them as follows:

The Pan Pacific Bureau of the Comintern had been forced out of Shanghai by CHIANG-KAI-SHEK's police and GEORGE had been instructed to establish it in San Francisco. This city was chosen because of its large Chinatown and its vantage as a large seaport. The Pan Pacific Bureau was the largest and most important section of the Comintern. This area included the entire Pacific from Alaska

NY 100-25693

to Chile and westward to include the Orient. GEORGE advised that he had been given \$50,000 as an initial fund to set up this Bureau, and he desired some help from the informant and BROWDER to set up an innocent appearing front for the activity.

BROWDER advised him not to bother about setting up a front because there was in existence an organization which would be ideal because of its nature for such functions...

BROWDER identified the organization as the Institute of Pacific Relations and stated "we control the man who controls it."

Informant further advised regarding the statements made by HARRISON GEORGE that BROWDER was to furnish the necessary personnel to act as agents, couriers, etc. for the Pan Pacific Bureau from Communist Party members known to be reliable.

Informant of T-3 advised that agency that after CHIANG-KAI-SHEK closed Chinese missions through which the Pan Pacific Secretariat had operated, HARRISON GEORGE was called to Moscow and instructed to set up an organization in the United States through which the Pan Pacific Secretariat could function. He found, on conferring with EARL BROWDER that the "guiding light" of the Institute of Pacific Relations was under Communist Party control.

The records of T-3 indicate that an informant of T-3 was of the opinion that EARL BROWDER could prove to be a key to exposing the entire Communist conspiracy regarding the Far East.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ in Page 262 of the book "Men Without Faces" states..."Having served two years in China

NY 100-25693

as a Comintern representative, he, Browder was a Red authority on that country. Ostensibly, back in 1927 he was one of a three man International Workers Delegation to China....

"Actually Browder's job in China had been to undermine American prestige by shouting about the evils of 'The Dollar Republic' and its sins as 'the exploiter of all countries.'"

WILLIAM ODELL NOWELL, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party, advised on June 11, 1951, that EARL BROWDER had participated or aided in underground operations in China which were in effect as early as 1927 or earlier. He stated that serving in China was a regular assignment for important Soviet underground operators and was regarded as highly important in Moscow.

T-4, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 10, 1953, that EARL BROWDER holds the key to all answers of Communist activity in this country as they pertain to the Far East problems because BROWDER personally handled these problems while he led the Party, considering himself an authority because of his Far Eastern experience.

D. 1930-1940

EARL BROWDER was the Communist Party, USA nominee for the office of President of the United States in 1936 and 1940.

The "New York Herald Tribune" of October 1, 1952, refers to EARL BROWDER as the General Secretary of the Communist Party from 1930 to 1944.

NY 100-25693

An article by LOUIS EUDENZ appearing in the "Daily Worker", May 23, 1944, Page 2, reflects that EARL BROWDER was elected as President of the Communist Political Association on May 22, 1944.

The "Daily Worker" of December 22, 1938, contains information to the effect that EARL BROWDER was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

The March 1939 edition of the "Communist" reflects that EARL BROWDER was the editor of the "Communist."

The "Daily Worker" of June 30, 1938, contains information to the effect that EARL BROWDER was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Mr. J. B. MATTHEWS, former Chief Investigator, Dies Committee, has advised that while he never joined the Communist Party as a member, he had worked in close contact with EARL BROWDER and other leading members of the Party between 1932 and 1935. Mr. MATTHEWS stated that at the request of EARL BROWDER, he became the first national chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism and practically ran the affairs of the League during its first year's existence in 1933. Mr. MATTHEWS stated that EARL BROWDER was on the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Dr. HARRY F. WARD, was interviewed on April 20, 1939, at the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. At that time Dr. WARD was National Chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy. He furnished a list of this Committee. EARL BROWDER was listed as a Vice Chairman for the periods September 1933 to September 1934, 1935, 1936 and 1937. He was included as a member of the National Bureau for the periods from September 1933 to September 1934 and for the year 1938.

NY 100-25693

T-5, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in 1942 that as of June 5, 1934, EARL BROWDER was President of the Workers Library Publishers, Inc.

T-4 advised in August and September 1953 that EARL BROWDER along with other American Communists in Moscow from time to time would, on occasion, lecture to the American Communists attending the Lenin School.

PAUL CROUCH, a self-admitted former Communist Party member, testified in the case of the United States versus KUZMA, ET AL at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on April 13, 1954. CROUCH testified that he was present at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held during the last week of May 1935 in a rented hall in Manhattan, New York City. CROUCH testified that EARL BROWDER presided at this meeting delegating the chair to other people at intervals as he made reports.

PAUL CROUCH in testimony in the United States District Court, St. Louis, Missouri, in the prosecution of Communist Party leaders for violation of the Smith Act February 24, 1954, stated that he attended a Communist Party convention June 24 to 28, 1936, inclusive, in New York City. CROUCH stated that he was a member of the presiding committee of which EARL BROWDER was also a member.

On December 3, 1954, EARL ALEXANDER WELCH was interviewed by SAs FRANK LONGO and JOHN J. MANNING. WELCH advised he had been a member of the Communist Party from about 1935 or 1936 to 1939 in Tennessee. He advised that in 1936 he had attended as a delegate the New York State Training School of the Communist Party and in 1938-1939 attended the National Training School of the Communist Party. He advised that courses were taught in Marxism-Leninism, public speaking, trade union organization and the history of the Russian revolution. According to WELCH, EARL BROWDER was an instructor at both schools.

NY 100-25693

On January 17, 1955, T-6, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that SIMON FELDMAN and his wife, JANE FELDMAN, at the direction of EARL BROWDER, went to Moscow in 1936 to become Comintern couriers.

SAMUEL ZAKMAN, previously referred to as having served with the Loyalist forces in Spain during 1937-1938, has advised that EARL BROWDER visited the Commander of the troops stationed at Tarozana. ZAKMAN who was in the Commander's office at the time, noticed before leaving a pile of American passports issued to deceased soldiers on the Commander's desk. When ZAKMAN returned, BROWDER was closing a travelling bag and saying "I'll take good care of them." ZAKMAN advised he noticed the passports had disappeared from the Commander's desk and he believed that BROWDER had put them in his bag.

At the time EARL BROWDER testified before the Dies Committee on September 5, 1939, he furnished the following information. BROWDER admitted using the names of WARD, and DIXON around 1921 and 1922 when the Communist Party, USA was underground and that he had written a book which was published under the name DIXON; that he was arrested in 1917 for conspiracy in a draft violation; that he served two years at Leavenworth prison, Kansas, and one year in the Missouri State Prison; that he was arrested in 1922 in Chicago in connection with the Bridgeman Convention of the Communist Party 1922 on a charge of Criminal Syndicalism; that this charge was dropped after ten years in the courts. BROWDER stated he resided at Wichita, Kansas, Kansas City, Missouri, Chicago, Illinois, and New York City. He stated his occupations had been messenger boy, bookkeeper, accountant, laborer, and his present occupations were journalist and Secretary of the Communist Party.

NY 100-25693

He stated he had been a member of the Communist Party since 1920 although his membership is technically dated from 1919 at the time of the formation of the Party because at that time he was in Leavenworth Prison and his activities began at the end of 1920. BROWDER testified he was a member of the Central or National Committee of the Communist Party since 1921 or 1922 and General Secretary since 1930. BROWDER also testified he had been a member of the Executive Committee since 1935 and was presently a member thereof.

BROWDER further stated that he was a member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party USA and listed the following organizations with which he was actively identified: The International Labor Defense (one of founders), The American League For Peace and Democracy (Vice President until 1937), International Workers Order. BROWDER listed the following books as having been written by him:

"Communism in the United States"  
(1933-1934)

"What Is Communism"  
(1936)

"The Peoples Front"  
(1936-1937)

"Fighting For Peace"  
(1938-1939)

"The Democratic Front"  
(A report of the 10th Convention of  
the Communist Party, USA)

BROWDER stated that the Communist Party, USA was affiliated with the Communist International and that the

NY 100-25693

affiliation was first made as the Workers Party, in 1922-1923 and that the closest harmony then existed between the Communist International and the Communist Party, USA. BROWDER testified that he was on the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

BROWDER testified he made the following trips to Russia. He made the first trip in 1921, the second trip in 1926 and he had visited Russia once a year every year since 1926. He was there twice in 1937 and his last visit was in October 1938. As his reason he stated that since 1930 he visited there because his position as General Secretary of the Party and his desire to confer with Communists in the Soviet Union and other countries necessitated them; that most of the trips were in connection with the Comintern. BROWDER stated he met and talked with JOSEF STALIN in 1926 since they were both members of a commission on China.

BROWDER stated in 1938 the newspaper Pravda began to send him fees which they paid for his articles in Pravda and he wrote for it regularly. He stated that Pravda was the official paper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On October 23, 1939, an indictment was filed charging EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, alias GEORGE MORRIS, alias NICHOLAS DOZENBERG, alias ALBERT HENRY RICHARDS, with violation of Section 220, Title 22, United States Code, for the use of passports obtained by means of false statements. The trial began on January 17, 1940, and a verdict of guilty was returned on January 22, 1940.

On March 25, 1941, after the Supreme Court upheld the Government's contention, the defendant surrendered himself to the United States Marshal, Southern District of New York, to serve a sentence of four years and a fine of \$2,000.00.

NY 100-25693

E. 1940 to Expulsion

The subject was interviewed by SAs J. R. MALLEY and GEORGE J. STARR at the Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia, on March 16, 1942.

BROWDER refused to discuss any business other than his own case, that is the case under which he was then serving a sentence.

The "New York Times" of May 18, 1942, in an article captioned "Browder Eludes Welcomers Here" contains information to the effect that EARL BROWDER's four year sentence for passport fraud was commuted by President ROOSEVELT.

The "Daily Worker" of June 5, 1940, listed EARL BROWDER as having been elected by the 11th National Convention of the Communist Party to the National Committee of the Communist Party.

The "Daily Worker" of the same date reflected that the National Committee had elected a new political committee of the Communist Party and that EARL BROWDER had been elected to the Political Committee of the Communist Party.

T-7, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1941, that EARL BROWDER was one of nineteen individuals chosen by the Party leaders at the 11th National Convention to constitute the secret central committee of the Communist Party.

EARL BROWDER was interviewed by SAs FRANK L. PRICE and S. PAUL FERRIN on September 25, 1942, at Communist Party Headquarters, 35 East 12th Street, New York City. BROWDER advised he was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and also of the Political Committee and General Secretary of the Communist Party.

NY 100-25693

The "Daily Worker" for November 29, 1944, Page 5, Column 2, refers to EARL BROWDER as Editor-in-Chief of the "Daily Worker".

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, a self-admitted former Communist Party member, testified in the case of United States Vs. Kuzma, ET AL, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on April 27, 1954, that EARL BROWDER, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, was in charge of the National Committee meeting of the Communist Party, USA, held in January 1944.

F. Knowledge of Secret Apparatus of Communist Party - Espionage

On April 26, 1950, T-8, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that in connection with the functioning of the Secret Apparatus of the Communist Party, the system is so decentralized that very few people could give a complete picture of its operation. Informant stated that during the leadership of EARL BROWDER, BROWDER was aware of the Secret Apparatus and was engaged in its supervision and one of the few, if not the only one, aware of the identity of the individuals engaged in this Secret Apparatus work.

On May 25, 1950, T-8 advised that insofar as the International aspects of the Communist Party were concerned, that is its dealings with Moscow and other countries, this was solely and chiefly run by EARL BROWDER and this activity was always considered BROWDER's "Baby."

JOHN LAUTNER, a Communist Party member for over twenty years who at the time of his expulsion from the Communist Party in January 1950 was Chairman of the New York State Review Commission, advised SA DANIEL F. O'CONNOR on September 27 and October 3, 1950, that during the EARL BROWDER Regime the Party functionary who would act as liaison between the open Party and the underground organization would be EARL BROWDER, himself.

NY 100-25693

ELIZABETH TERRILL BENTLEY, a former Soviet courier, has advised that EARL BROWDER and JACOB GOLOS who, prior to his death in 1943, was connected with World Tourist, Incorporated, had a close working espionage arrangement apparently unknown to the Russians or the Communist Party. In the fall of 1941, GOLOS was reported to be making available to BROWDER all of the espionage material he obtained prior to passing it on to his (GOLOS') Russian contacts.

BROWDER was only permitted to read the material and was not allowed to have it in his possession except for a brief period. According to BENTLEY this, of course, supplied BROWDER with an excellent source of information, some of which was known to have been utilized in his speeches and press releases.

According to Miss BENTLEY, BROWDER was aware of the fact that GOLOS had been in the employ of the Russian espionage system and as a matter of fact in return for the privilege of seeing such information, BROWDER allegedly supplied GOLOS with individuals in the Communist Party who carried on espionage work for GOLOS.

When GOLOS died in 1943 Miss BENTLEY contacted BROWDER to determine what course she would follow in carrying on GOLOS' work as head of a large ring of Americans working as espionage agents for the USSR. BROWDER instructed BENTLEY to continue the operation of the ring as GOLOS had previously done and not to allow these people to be taken over by the Russians.

In June 1944 BROWDER informed BENTLEY that she was directed to turn over to the espionage group operating under the leadership of NATHAN SILVERMASTER, her Russian contact.

Miss BENTLEY has advised that NATHAN SILVERMASTER and EARL BROWDER were close friends.

NY 100-25693

On August 27, 1947, on the direction of Special Assistant to the Attorney General T. VINCENT QUINN, SA CHARLES M. NOONE and EDWARD F. BUCKLEY interviewed the subject. BROWDER stated at this time that he had known JACOB GOLOS for approximately twenty years and that GOLOS had arranged passage abroad through World Tourist for BROWDER on numerous occasions and had loaned BROWDER some Russian pamphlets and books on a purely personal basis. BROWDER denied that GOLOS ever furnished him any information or material coming from the United States Government sources. BROWDER specifically denied knowing or having met ELIZABETH BENTLEY or NATHAN SILVERMASTER, and emphatically denied ever having engaged in espionage.

BROWDER terminated the interview by stating "In view of the Government's present attitude towards the Communist Party, and their contention that it is a criminal syndicate, I wish to state that I will decline to discuss my connection with the Communist Party or my knowledge of any of the persons connected with the Communist Party."

T-9, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 14, 1955, that she was a member of the Communist Party group consisting of Office of Price Administration (OPA) employees in Washington, D.C. in 1943. She stated that on one occasion her superior in the Communist Party OPA group advised that "certain information" was needed "upstairs." She was instructed by her superior to find out from each member of her group precisely what information the member had access to in his Government position, what kind of papers did they handle, what did they include, to whom were they routed, how important did they seem and what was the security classification. According to the informant

NY 100-25693

this information was to be submitted to EARL BROWDER, the National head of the Communist Party.

### III. BROWDER'S EXPULSION FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY

According to the "Daily Worker" of February 14, 1946, EARL BROWDER was expelled from the Communist Party February 12, 1946, by the Yonkers Branch to which he belonged.

The "New York Times" of February 14, 1946, in an article captioned "Browder Is Expelled By Communist Party As Betrayer And Deserter To Capitalism" sets forth information to the effect that the National Committee of the Communist Party had announced that it had accepted the recommendation of the National Board and had expelled EARL BROWDER, former secretary, as a member of the Party "for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions and active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy, American monopoly capitalism."

The article also states that the National Committee had also announced that it had rejected an appeal by BROWDER from the National Board's recommendation.

T-10, who is an acquaintance of the subject, advised on April 15, 1952, that the famous Duclos Letter was responsible for BROWDER's expulsion from the Communist Party and that this letter was directed from Moscow.

T-10 advised that BROWDER, as a result of the Duclos Letter became bitter toward the Communist Party, USA which animosity he holds to this day. T-10 stated that BROWDER had always stood for co-existence of the USSR and America.

NY 100-25693

T-10 stated that BROWDER seems to be satisfied to be out of the Communist Party, USA and has stated that he could never follow the world Communist line.

T-11, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in 1951 that BROWDER was ousted as head of the Communist Party, USA because of two miscalculations on his part: (1) BROWDER under-estimated the ability of his enemies to take over the Party machine and (2) BROWDER over-estimated his friends in Moscow. Although BROWDER was urged by his friends to defend himself after the appearance of the Duclos Letter, he preferred to bide his time waiting for Moscow to reverse itself and this reversal never came.

#### IV. POST EXPULSION TO PRESENT

The "New York Herald Tribune" of April 28, 1946, in an article captioned "Browder Going To Moscow, He Says In Sweden," sets out information to the effect that EARL BROWDER, former leader of the Communist Party in the United States, had arrived in Stockholm enroute to Moscow from New York. BROWDER told newspapermen at the airport that he was going to Russia to "study political life" there.

The article further relates that BROWDER had been operating Distributor's Guide, Incorporated, at 55 West 42nd Street, a service concerned with economic analyses for subscribers in business and industry.

Issue number 8 of Volume number 1 of the bulletin "Distributor's Guide" which was distributed on March 2, 1946, carried EARL BROWDER's name as editor of the mimeographed publication in its masthead.

The "New York Times" of June 20, 1946, contained a lengthy account of an interview had by the

NY 100-25693

press with BROWDER on June 19, 1946, at the Hotel Moskva. The article contains information to the effect that BROWDER had signed contracts empowering him to represent three Soviet publishing houses in the United States. The contracts were signed by Tagiz, a State publishing house, and two of its affiliates, the Trade Union Publishing House and the Art Publishing House.

The "New York Herald Tribune" of June 21, 1946, in an article captioned "Browder Leaves Moscow" sets forth information that EARL BROWDER had left Moscow by plane for Paris on June 20, 1946, after a six-week visit during which he was received by Viacheslav M. Molotov and Deputy Foreign Minister S. A. LOZOVSKY. The article stated that BROWDER was enroute home to the United States where he said he will represent Soviet book publishers for five years under contracts signed during his stay in Moscow.

EARL BROWDER registered with the Foreign Agents' Registration Section of the Department of Justice on October 1, 1946. He listed his business address as 55 West 42nd Street, Room 702, New York 18, New York, with residence address 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. He listed his business as that of a writer and lecturer and set out his principal as being the U.S. Publishing House of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (OGIZ), address Orlykov Per 3, Moscow, USSR; The State Art Publishing House of the Committee on Art Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (ISKUSSTVO) Tsvetnoi Bul, 25, Moscow, USSR; and the Publishing House of the Central Council of Trade Unions, (PROFIZDAT), Kaluzhsky Chaussee 66, Moscow, USSR.

In his registration statement with the Department of Justice, EARL BROWDER listed the following aliases that had been used by him. JOSEPH DIXON, JOSEPH WARD, ALBERT UNDERWOOD, EARL RUSSELL, EARL WINGATE, EARL W. RINGROSE.

NY 100-25693

The "New York World Telegram" of August 6, 1948, in an article captioned "Browder Stays Out, Commies Rule" reads in part as follows: "Earl Browder, former General Secretary of the Communist Party, refused to comment today on the rejection of his application for reinstatement in the Party. The rejection was voted unanimously by two hundred fifty delegates attending the closed National Convention of the Communist Party in the Hotel Riverside Plaza, 235 West 73rd Street..."

"The reinstatement plea was rejected by the Convention on grounds that Mr. Browder had continued his anti-Marxist views in his writings and other activities since he was ousted as Party leader in 1946, and that he had failed to acknowledge his errors."

On March 10, 1949, EARL BROWDER was interviewed in his office at 55 West 42nd Street, New York City, by SA JAMES R. SHINNERS and LAURENCE W. SPILLANE. BROWDER stated that he did not intend to answer any questions since one question led to another and eventually he would be questioned about all of his friends and acquaintances. BROWDER stated that he wanted it known that in any interview relative to the Communist Party, the Soviet Union or relative to his friends and acquaintances, that he would be uncooperative.

The "New York Times" of September 15, 1949, contains an article captioned "Browder Is Ousted As Soviet's Agent." The article states in part that "The Soviet Government dropped Earl Browder, former Chief of American Communism from its payroll at the end of July, it was discovered yesterday. As a result of the Soviet Government's decision to dispense with Mr. Browder's services as American business representative of its All Union Council of Ministers channelling information both ways between the United States and the Soviet Union' Mr. Browder wound up his business in a hurry.....

NY 100-25693

"Mr. Browder said he had cancelled his registration as a foreign agent to the Department of Justice."

The "New York Journal American" of April 27, 1950, carried an article of the same date under a Washington dateline to the effect that EARL BROWDER had sworn on that date in testimony given before the Senate Investigating Committee that OWEN LATTIMORE and three other persons accused by Senator MC CARTHY (Republican-Wisconsin) never had any connection with the Communist Party. He is also reported to have testified that he told Senate Loyalty Investigators that he knew of no Communists in the State Department but if there were he would not reveal their names.

The records of the Clerk's Office, United States District Court, Criminal Branch, reflect information under criminal case number 1784-50 to the effect that subject was charged with violation of Section 192, Title 2, United States Code, on sixteen counts and was arraigned on December 1, 1950, before Judge EDWARD M. CURRAN, United States District Court, for the District of Columbia.

BROWDER, at that time representing himself, refused to plead and was committed to jail upon failure to make bond in the amount of \$1500 and was given until December 26, 1950, to further plead.

The charges referred to above resulted from his testimony before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C. on Thursday, April 27, 1950. This testimony and his refusal to answer certain questions propounded to him at that time resulted

NY 100-25693

in a finding of Contempt of Congress voted by the above committee which led to the above indictment.

The records of the Criminal Clerk's Office, United States District Court, District of Columbia, Criminal Case Number 1784-50 reflect that on March 6, 1951, the court appointed one ROGER ROBB to appear on behalf of BROWDER.

It is noted that on March 12, 1951, BROWDER filed a motion for a judgement of acquittal which motion was granted on March 14, 1951, and BROWDER was discharged. The presiding judge in the above trial was the Honorable F. DICKINSON LETTS.

On May 19, 1952, subject was interviewed by SAs FRANK NQWLANI and EDWARD W. BUCKLEY. BROWDER advised that he was presently engaged in study and writing world political policies which include those of the Soviet Union. BROWDER stated that he strongly disagreed with the policies of the United States Government in its prosecution of the Communist Party leaders and that he did not consider the Communist Party in this country as a danger to the security of the United States Government.

BROWDER stated he considered himself to be a good American and that while he was head of the Communist Party in the United States it became a strong forceful organization which was responsible for bringing about some political changes. BROWDER stated that under his leadership the Communist Party acted and conducted itself in accordance with law and order and was attempting to bring about political changes in a democratic and American manner. BROWDER stated that although he disagreed with the Government policies of the handling of the Communist Party prosecutions, he also violently opposed the Communist Party leaders who were facing Government prosecution.

NY 100-25693

EARL BROWDER was interviewed on June 12, 1952, by SAs FRANK J. NOWLAN and EDWARD W. BUCKLEY. BROWDER stated he had nothing to say and that the agents were wasting time contacting him since he could be of no assistance.

BROWDER remarked that further contacts with him by FBI agents were useless for the purpose of engaging him in conversation, discussions, etcetera. BROWDER stated that "life is too short to get involved now."

T-12, who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on January 18, 1952, that in her opinion EARL BROWDER has definitely split with the Communist Party, USA and is bearing farther and farther away from the Party line. T-12 stated she is positive BROWDER will never become reconciled with the Communist Party and is not in a position to ever again gain control of the Communist Party, USA.

T-12 stated BROWDER firmly believed the conflict between Russia and the United States must and can be avoided, pointing out that BROWDER's opinion is opposed to that of the Communist Party line. T-12 stated in her opinion BROWDER would actively oppose Russia in the event of a war between the United States and that country.

The records of the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, reflected that on September 26, 1952, a Federal Grand Jury in the Southern District of New York, returned a "true bill" charging BROWDER with violation of Title 18, Section 1015 (a) United States Code, based upon a false statement under oath on October 14, 1949, in connection with his wife's (IRENE) petition for naturalization. At the hearing BROWDER testified that IRENE BROWDER was never a member of the Communist Party or active in the Communist Party, USA.

NY 100-25693

On September 30, 1952, a sealed indictment was opened before Federal Judge JOHN W. CLANCY, Southern District of New York, charging BROWDER with violation of Title 18, Section 1015 (a) and a bench warrant was issued by Judge CLANCY for his arrest.

BROWDER was arrested by SAS HERBERT B. GRANT and WILLIAM J. WALSH on September 30, 1952, and taken before Judge CLANCY for the purpose of setting bail.

BROWDER's bond was set at \$2,500 and he was remanded to the custody of the United States Marshal in lieu of it. A hearing was set for October 6, 1952.

Assistant United States Attorney ROBERT MARTIN, Southern District of New York, advised that on October 6, 1952, BROWDER was taken before Federal Judge JOHN FIX MC GOHEY at which time his hearing was postponed until October 6, 1952, in order to allow BROWDER additional time to secure an attorney.

AUSA MARTIN advised that on October 9, 1952, BROWDER appeared before Judge MC GOHEY at which time he posted \$2,500 cash bond and was released from the custody of the United States Marshal with instructions to appear in court for a hearing on October 20, 1952.

BROWDER again appeared for a hearing before Judge MC GOHEY on October 20, 1952, at which time he entered a plea of not guilty to the indictment. Judge MC GOHEY continued BROWDER's bond and he was released until such time as the matter is brought to trial.

Hearings were held before the Permanent Subcommittee in Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations (McCarthy Committee) on March 24, 25, 26, 1953, in the public session on the subject of the "State Department Information Program - Information Center."

NY 100-25693

EARL BROWDER testified at these hearings that his full name was EARL RUSSELL BROWDER but he refused to answer questions concerning his past or present membership in the Communist Party; whether or not he had ever engaged in espionage against the United States or to identify himself as being the author of books with his name or picture thereon. He refused to answer the above questions on the grounds of his rights under the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution.

The "New York Herald Tribune" dated March 22, 1953, in an article captioned "Browder's Silence Ends, Now Out Against Russia," written by MARGUERITE HIGGINS reads in part as follows: "After eight years of self-imposed silence about Russia, Earl Browder, former Number One American Communist, announced yesterday his active opposition to Soviet style Communism and his intention to organize a 'Democratic left' that will combine 'Jeffersonian concepts of representative Government and a Socialist economy.'"

In answer to the question "When did you decide to go into opposition to the Communist Party?", BROWDER answered "I gave up all connections with Soviet Publishing Houses in 1949. With the war in Korea, it became clear that it was an urgent matter to expose the militaristic tendencies of the Soviet Union - tendencies quite in opposition to the wishes of its own people and above all to the Democratic left which I count myself a part."

The "Brooklyn Eagle" a newspaper published at Brooklyn, New York, in its issue of October 5, 1953, carried an article entitled "Russia Opposes Red China Entry to United Nations Says Browder." In this article BROWDER is quoted in part as follows:

NY 100-25693

"I am not very popular today. I never did fit in a pigeon hole. I was not a one hundred per cent doctrinaire Communist. Today I am not a one hundred per cent anti-Communist."

Assistant United States Attorney RICHARD OWEN, Southern District of New York, advised on October 11, 1954, that the perjury trial against EARL BROWDER was still pending in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York.

The records of the Chief Clerk, Criminal Division, Office of United States Attorney, Southern District of New York, reflected on July 16, 1954, RAISSA IRENE BROWDER was granted a severance upon the oral motion of the United States Government.

T-12 advised on October 6, 1954, that the subject had expressed himself in an anti-Communist manner on a number of occasions particularly after the persecution of the Jewish doctors in Russia.

According to the informant the subject had written several articles that expressed his anti-Communist feelings. Informant stated that the subject had not been involved in any activities other than to care for his ill wife and had done a considerable amount of reading and writing at his home.

T-11 advised on April 6, 1955, that EARL BROWDER was then destitute. According to the informant, BROWDER did a little accounting work at home and had some sort of small assignment lasting three months or so from the Fund for the Republic.

Informant indicated that BROWDER had a huge store of information which he could sell at good prices to the magazines if he chose to do so but in spite of his indigence he has remained silent.

NY 100-25693

EARL BROWDER was interviewed on April 6, 1955, at his residence Apartment 3F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, by SAS NEIL P. DIVERS and JAMES F. MARTIN. BROWDER stated he felt that any cooperation on his part would lead to public testimony and possible involvement in contempt or perjury charges against him.

Criminal Docket C139/257, United States District Court, Southern District of New York, viewed on May 2, 1955, indicated that a perjury indictment remains outstanding against EARL BROWDER and the case remains in a pending status.

NY 100-25693

The "New York Times" of May 20, 1956 contains an article captioned "BROWDER, 65, Says He Is Unchanged." The article reads in part as follows:

"..... I have practically no interest in what goes on among the Communists not being a student of microbiology..... The Communist Party of the United States today is a contemptable sect with no roots in American life. I do not call myself a Communist anymore. I haven't changed. But the Communists have."

T-6 advised on July 9, 1956 that he had received information to the effect if BROWDER were so inclined, he could go back into the Party today.

The "Yonkers Herald Statesman" of August 24 1956, in an article captioned "Yonker's Man Watches 'From Afar'. Commies in U.S.A. In Hot Debate Over Earl Browder's Harmony Ideas" The article quotes EARL BROWDER as saying in referring to the debate inside the Party as "'a long distance echo of NIKITA Khrushchev's speech in Moscow'". The article goes on to say "The Yonkers man - former secretary of the American Communist Party - hints that the dethroning of Red orthodoxy and the ferment it caused may increase the long range prospects for peace." Asked if he thinks the cold war might have been averted in the world had they followed the BROWDER advice of cooperation with the West after World War II, he commented "the conflict might have been avoided easily all together." The article goes on to say "the inside-America debate among Reds, said Mr. Browder, is now beyond the control of the Party's top leaders and it would be 'foolhardy' to risk any predictions as to its eventual outcome." The article states that in answer to a question whether BROWDER would be reconciled to the Party if it alters its position about him and his views, BROWDER replied "it is impossible to answer that, it presumes too much."

NY 100-25693

The "New York Post" of October 15, 1956, in an article by JOSEPH P. LASH, entitled "After 25 years: Browder Urges Thomas to Lead New 'Left Bloc'" reads in part as follows:

"In a face to face meeting Earl Browder has proposed to Norman Thomas that he take the leadership in organizing a new 'Socialist left' in the United States. Thomas confirmed to the Post today that the two men who as Presidential candidates of the Socialist Party and General Secretary of the Communist Party were long bitter enemies, had conferred together harmoniously for the first time in 25 years. ....First hint of the Thomas-Browder talk was contained in a speech by the deposed Communist leader to the Long Island Branch of the Socialist Party."

"In that speech BROWDER said the "time was ripe" for an effort to rebuild the American left and proposed that Thomas take the leadership."

T-13 who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on October 25 1956, that at that time there was no intention of re-admitting BROWDER to the Party.

Assistant United States Attorney Southern District of New York THOMAS A. BOLAN advised SA JAMES E. HANLON on September 10 1956, that he is presently awaiting a decision from the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. concerning prosecutive action against subject's pending perjury trial.

#### V. PAMPHLETS WRITTEN BY EARL BROWDER

T-14 who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information on July 26, 1954 concerning the pamphlets written by EARL BROWDER as follows:

NY 100-25693

The above list covers the period from November, 1935 to March, 1945. Over sixty publications, having a distribution of approximately seven million one hundred thousand copies, are listed.

VI. IDENTIFICATION RECORD

The following is the identification record for the subject as obtained from the Identification Division of the FBI, FBI Number 286042:

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
United States Penitentiary Leavenworth, Kansas	Earl R. Browder #14314	July 14 1919	conspiracy	two years Paroled November 5, 1920
Police Department Detroit, Michigan	Earl Browder #38680	May 26 1930	fugitive from justice	discharged on writ
Police Department Terre Haute, Indiana	Earl Browder #8768	September 30, 1936	vagrancy - investigation	released October 1, 1936
Federal Detention Headquarters New York, New York	Earl Russell Browder #28433	October 23, 1939	use of passport obtained by false statement	October 24, 1939 discharged on bail
United States Marshal New York, New York	Earl R. Browder #C25-24	October 23, 1939	charge not given	

NY 100-25693

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR CHARGE RECEIVED	DISPOSITION
Federal Detention Headquarters New York, New York #32002	Earl Russell Browder	March 25 1941	use of passport obtained under false statement 4 years - 3-26-41 tr to USP Atlanta
United States Penitentiary Atlanta, Georgia	Earl Russell Browder, #60140	March 27 1941	unlawful use of passport 4 years commutation of sentence obtained May 16, by false statement 1942
DC Jail Washington DC	Earl Russell Browder #87266	December 1, 1950	T2 Sec. 192 U.S. Code Criminal (US) no bond issued Court; 12-7-50 rel on bond
United States Marshal Washington, D.C.	Earl Russell Browder #1784-50	November 29, 1950	Section 192 T 22 United States Code March 14, 1951 acquitted.
United States Marshal New York, New York	Earl Browder #C-1471-52	September 30, 1952	perjury pending
Federal Detention Headquarters, New York, New York	Earl Browder #64333	September 30, 1952	False statement Immigration Naturalization

NY 100-25693

VII. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The following physical description was obtained from the publication "Current Biography", 1944 edition, Immigration and Naturalization Service records, New York City, by personal observation by SA DANIEL H. LUCKING on October 12, 1956 and from the records of the Identification Division, FBI:

Name	EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
Date of Birth	May 20, 1891
Color	White
Sex	Male
Height	5'8"
Hair	Grey
Weight	165 to 170 pounds
Eyes	Blue
Build	Medium
Complexion	Sallow
Peculiarities	Wears mustache, wears grey tweed cap or battered fedora
Residence	Apartment 3F 7 Highland Place Yonkers, New York
Occupation	no apparent outside employment
FBI Number	286042
Fingerprint	
Classification	20 O 27 W 100 21 Ref 19 L 19 W OIO 19

APPENDIX

Organizations and Publications

The following organizations have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450:

NY 100-25693

The American League Against War and Fascism  
The American League for Peace and Democracy  
International Labor Defense  
International Workers Order  
Workers Party

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, dated May 15, 1951, contains the following concerning the Labor Herald:

"1. 'Official organ of the Communist Trade Union Education League.'  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 225.)"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, dated May 15, 1951, contains the following concerning the Morning Freihiet:

"3. 'The official Communist newspaper published in the Yiddish tongue. For many years, M. J. Olgin was editor of Frehheit. Olgin was one of the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party in the United States for 20 years.'  
(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, p. 242.)"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, dated May 15, 1951, contains the following concerning New Masses:

NY 100-25693

"3. Until its recent merger with Mainstream, the New Masses has been the weekly journalistic voice of the Communist Party. Its first appearance was as a monthly. As the Masses, it was suppressed by the United States Government for its subversive policies. Mainstream was launched by the Communist Party in January 1947, dealing with the field of literature and creative arts. (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports, 1947, p. 160, and 1948, p. 340.)"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, dated May 15, 1951, contains the following concerning the Workers Library Publishers:

"1. An 'official Communist Party publishing agency.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 8; also cited in Report, June 25, 1942, p. 18.)"

"2. 'Official Communist Party, U.S.A., publishing house.' (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 72 and 80.)"

"3. Cited as an 'important' publishing organization of the Communist Party, located in New York City.

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1943, p. 214.)"

"4. Cited as 'controlled by Communists' and as one of the two 'chief publishers of the Communist Party.'

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 289.)"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and

NY 100-25693

Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, dated May 15, 1951, contains the following concerning The Communist:

- "1. 'Official, monthly organ of the Communist Party.'
- (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 8; also cited in Report, January 3, 1941, p. 12.)"
- "2. 'Official organ of the Communist Party of America.'
- (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 209, April 1, 1947, p. 15.)"
- "3. 'Official, theoretical organ of the Communist Party,' now known as Political Affairs.
- (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1948, pp. 252 and 267.)"
- "4. 'A monthly magazine published by the Communist Party, U.S.A.'
- (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 82.)"

"Daily Worker"

The "Daily Worker" is an east coast Communist daily newspaper.

Institute of Pacific Relations

The Institute of Pacific Relations was founded in 1925 in Hawaii as an organization engaged in research on the economic, political, and social aspects of countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. As a result of documentary evidence and testimony from witnesses who have appeared during 1951 and 1952 before the Sub-committee on Internal Security, of the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, this Committee concluded in the report dated July 2, 1952, that while most members of the Institute of Pacific Relations (including the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, succeeded by the American Institute of Pacific Relations, Incorporated) and its Board of Trustees were inactive and without any influence over the policies of the organization, and while the names of eminent

NY 100-25693

individuals were by design used as a responsible and impressive screening for the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations inner core activities, administration and policies of the Institute of Pacific Relations were controlled by a small core of Communists or pro-Communist personnel; that the Institute of Pacific Relations was considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials, as an instrument of Soviet policy, propaganda and military intelligence; that the Institute of Pacific Relations was used as a channel for Communist and Soviet propaganda, and its leadership used the Institute of Pacific Relations prestige to promote the interest of the Soviet Union; that the Institute of Pacific Relations had for its chief function, the influencing of United States public opinion, and was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American Far Eastern policies; and that persons associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations were instrumental in keeping the United States policy on a course favorable to Communist objectives in China.

LENIN SCHOOL

In April, 1941, a source, who was in a position to furnish reliable information, advised that the Lenin School was founded in 1926, to train foreign Communists both politically and practically in the work of revolution. At the same time to produce propagandists from foreign countries to organize and educate the Communist Party abroad.

On March 3, 1951, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the Lenin School was founded in 1926, in Russia to train an international Communist leadership which

NY 100-25693

would act as one according to the discipline and in keeping with the policies of the Communist International and the Communist Party Soviet Union.

On May 19, 1954, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that he recalls no persons left the United States for Russia to attend the Lenin School subsequent to 1936.

PAN PACIFIC TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT

The annual report by the Committee on Un-American Activities in the year 1953, date February 6, 1954, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., page 106, sets forth information to the effect that the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and its parent organization, the Shanghai Branch of the Far Eastern Bureau, were the most important and highly organized apparatus for the comintern labor activities in the Far East during the late 1920's and early 1930's.

INDIVIDUALS

IRENE BROWDER

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former managing editor of the "Daily Worker" and a former Communist Party functionary who broke with the Communist Party in October, 1945, advised SA WILLIAM J. MC CARTHY, JR. on February 2, 1951, that IRENE BROWDER was in the Communist Party and was running the commission handling minorities at the time he, BUDENZ, entered the Communist Party in 1935. He stated that up until 1940, she wrote articles which appeared in the now defunct publication "The Communist." He stated

NY 100-25693

these articles were mostly concerning the minority groups.

EUGENE DENNIS

The "Daily Worker" of May 16, 1956, page 8, column 4, described EUGENE DENNIS as the General Secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America.

SIMON FELDMAN

The "Morning Freheit" of January 6, 1955, page 7, column 4 and 5, contained information which noted that SIMON FELDMAN was a member of "the National Management" of the Morning Freheit.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was one of the Communist Party leaders indicted June 20, 1951 for violation of the Smith Act of 1940. On January 21, 1953 she was convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, for the above violation and was sentenced on February 3, 1953 by Federal Judge EDWARD J. DIMOCK to three years in the Federal Penitentiary and fined \$6,000.00. After denial of her appeal by the United States Supreme Court, her bail was revoked and she was remanded to jail on January 11, 1955.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

On March 9, 1956, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was introduced as National Chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America at a birthday party in his honor held at the Chateau Gardens, New York City, on that date.

NY 100-25693

HARRISON GEORGE

J. DAVID WHITTAKER CHAMBERS was interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI from January through April 1949. CHAMBERS admitted being engaged in Soviet espionage and during the interview made the following comments pertaining to HARRISON GEORGE:

About 1928, GEORGE became a member of the Daily Worker' staff in New York City. CHAMBERS claims to have later heard that GEORGE became the head of the underground activities in the West Coast Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. GEORGE also allegedly told CHAMBERS that during the time that EARL BROWDER was in China, GEORGE had accompanied him and had been a comintern observer during the 'Canton Revolt.'

JACOB GOLOS

In November 1945, ELIZABETH BENTLEY, admitted former Soviet courier, advised that prior to his death in 1944, JACOB GOLOS was a director of Soviet espionage in the United States.

OWEN LATTIMORE

The report of the Committee on the Judiciary, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session, U.S. Senate, Report #2050, page 224, states that "OWEN LATTIMORE was, from some time beginning in the 1930's, a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

On Page 225, the report continues, "Many of the persons active in and around the IPR, and in particular though not exclusively OWEN LATTIMORE, .... knowingly and deliberately used the language of books and articles which they wrote or edited in an attempt to influence the American public by means of pro-Communist or pro-Soviet content of such writings."

JOSEPH NORTH

On March 3, 1955, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that JOSEPH NORTH joined the Communist Party in 1930, and as of 1953 had never been up on charges and never dropped out of the movement and was considered by the Communist Party to be a loyal well-disciplined worker with strong party ties over many years.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

On October 26, 1955, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised he had known JOSEPH NORTH for about 25 years as a Communist Party member.

NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER

The publication "The Shameful Years, Thirty Years of Soviet Espionage in the United States" prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representative, Washington, D. C., House of Representative report number 1229 of the 82nd Congress, Second Session, page 59, sets forth information that ELIZABETH BENTLEY had stated that NATHAN GREGORY SILVERMASTER was the head of the most important and active group of persons who engaged in espionage in behalf of the Soviet Government.

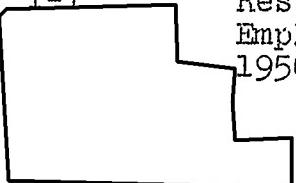
- C -

- 50 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

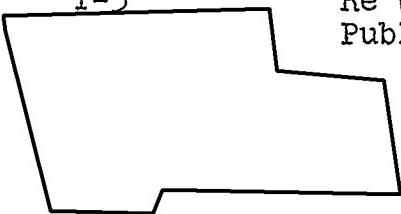
INFORMANTS

IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED	FILE # WHERE LOCATED
T-1 	Residence and Employment 1956 ✓			100-25693- 1406
T-2	China Activity Information 1927-1928 ✓ from the files of the Shanghai Municipal Police obtained by review of the material furnished to the Bureau on 6-5-51 by confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, which was submitted to this office by Bulet 6-21-51.			100-25693- 957
T-3	Re IPR ✓ INS Records, NYC			100-25693- 1224
T-4 CG 5824-S*	BROWDER's Information Re Far East Problems ✓  Re Lenin School ✓			100-94061- 1735 p. 4
				100-105630- 125 p. 4

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

NY 100-25693

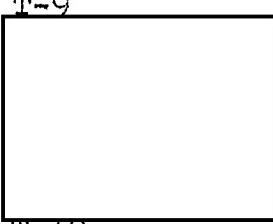
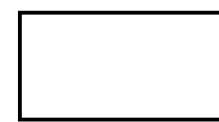
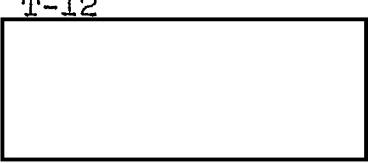
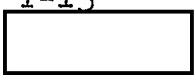
INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION RECEIVED OF INFORMATION	DATE	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED	FILE # WHERE LOCATED	
T-5 	Re Workers Library Publishers, Inc. ✓			102-1- 257 p. 21	b7D
T-6 NY 694-S*	Re Comintern Couriers ✓				b7D b3
	Re BROWDER Return to CP✓			100- 25693- 1387	
T-7 Confidential source of the Bureau. Letter to Assistant Director E. J. CONNELLEY, NY, NY, dated 9-25-41 captioned "Communist Party, USA, Voorhis Act	Re Secret Central Committee ✓			102-1-32	
T-8 	Knowledge of Secret Apparatus of CP✓			100-25693- 854	b7D
	International Aspects of CP✓			100-25693- 857	

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

IDENTITY OF SOURCE	DATE OF ACTIVITY AND/OR DESCRIPTION RECEIVED OF INFORMATION	DATE RECEIVED	AGENT TO WHOM FURNISHED	FILE # WHERE LOCATED
T-9 	Re OPA Information ✓			 b3 b7D
T-10 	Re Expulsion ✓			100-25693- 1000 b7D
T-11 	Re Expulsion ✓			100-25693- 1013 b7D b3
	Re BROWDER's Income ✓			
T-12 	Re BROWDER attitude to CP 1952 ✓			100-25693- 937 b7D
	Re Anti-Communist Feelings ✓			100-25693- 1249
T-13 	Re Re-Admission to Party ✓			 b7D b3
T-14 CSNY 1203**	✓			

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS (CONT'D)

Lenin School ✓

A confidential source  
abroad  
CG 5824-S\* and [redacted]

b7D

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER ✓

[redacted]

JOSEPH NORTH ✓

NY 1294-S\*

[redacted]

Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed, and T symbols were utilized in the report only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

ADMINISTRATIVE

The subject is on the SI in the NYO and the data appearing thereon is current and correct.

This case has been reviewed in the light of existing criteria of retention of subject on the SI and although the subject's activities as such do not warrant his retention on the SI, due to the fact that the subject has had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities of the CP in the past and his long history of association with the CP and the fact that he has never publicly recanted, it is recommended that he be retained on the SI.

No recommendation is being made to interview the subject at this time inasmuch as over the years he has consistently refused to cooperate with the FBI during previous interviews.

There is a photograph of the subject available.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)

NY 100-25693

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONT'D)

Attempts in the past to verify the subject's birth have been negative. It is noted that in the report of SAC R. E. VETTERLI, dated 7/9/29 at Kansas City, captioned "EARL BROWDER alias GEORGE MORRIS," states that the law requiring state registration of births did not come into effect in Kansas until 7/1/11.

REFERENCE

Report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, dated 6/11/56,  
at New York.

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE (CONT'D)